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America and Russia

ALL discussion of the most fateful international problems of our time leads to argument about Russia. There is no doubt about the necessity of cooperation between the United States and Russia if there is to be peace. But the obstacles to such cooperation are very great. In the nature of the case it is difficult to reach an understanding with a nation whose policy is formed without the constant interaction between government and public opinion to which we are accustomed. Also, it is difficult to form a judgment about the real aims of Russian policy. The "experts" on Russia almost cancel each other out. To read Pares, the Webbs, Duranty, Lauterbach (to omit the more devout enthusiasts) and then to read Dallin and Chamberlin (to omit the more reckless haters) is to end in confusion. Even Dallin and Chamberlin disagree as to whether or not Russia still seeks world revolution.

There is a profounder difficulty in the fact that whatever may be the ultimate aims of Russian policy, Russian methods in dealing with enemies and opponents are amoral and ruthless. The post-war horror in eastern Europe is aggravated by these Russian methods. Also, the extension of Russian power seems to mean the extension of the area within which suppression or liquidation of the opposition is the rule; and many fear that for an indefinite period the territory from the Elbe to the Pacific may be under a blackout with no freedom for securing information or for criticism.

After full account has been taken of these difficulties it is essential for Americans to keep in mind other factors in the situation. It is a dangerous error to say that there is no difference between Russian and Nazi totalitarianism and that attempts at reconciliation with Russia in the interests of peace are "appeasement" in the sense that word has acquired since Munich.

1. The most important factor is that Russians are governed by a deep sense of insecurity. This has been the case since 1917. Moreover, it is easy to see good reasons for this sense of insecurity. They remember the attempts of the Western democracies to destroy the revolution. They remember the years of ostracism. They remember the efforts to turn Ger-

many against them in order to spare the West. They are still reeling from a devastating attack that justified their previous fears. They know the bitter hostility against them of the most widely read American newspapers. They know the influence of the Catholic Church in America and that Church's long standing hatred of Communism. They know the strength of capitalism here and the tendency of many capitalists to see in Russia chiefly a threat to themselves. They know the anti-Russian feeling in important army and navy circles. When the atomic policy of our government, at least up to the Truman-Atlee conference, accompanied by a certain self-righteous swagger on the part of American spokesmen, is seen against this background it is no wonder that Russian distrust has been greatly increased.

2. The sense of horror that we have as we learn of the unspeakable tragedy that is taking place in all eastern Europe should be accompanied by the recognition that though Russian policy has made some conditions worse, the tragedy is in the first instance the result of the war's terrible destruction, of the sheer lack of food, of the understandable hatred against Germans on the part of all their neighbors. Even the plunder and rapine of the Red Army do not reflect policy so much as the elemental savagery of undisciplined humanity under conditions of chaos. One observer, for example, says that the Russian soldiers were at their worst when drunk and that "when sober, they showed greater human understanding and even tried to defend the population against the excesses of the Poles, who on their arrival plundered everything." It would be wrong to allow our revulsion against these things to make us concentrate on Russian faults.

3. Russia has no temptation to indefinite aggressiveness as was the case with Nazi Germany. She does not have a background of militarism. She does not need *lebensraum*. She is relatively self-sufficient and has a great stake in world peace and stability. Much that seems aggressive to us in her policy must seem to her similar to our own concern to be the dominant power in the Western Hemisphere and to keep the Pacific an American lake.

4. The ideals that control Russian life are not the

Nihilistic nonsense that went under the name of National Socialism, but they come from a constructive, though one-sided and partly defective philosophy, that does aim at the welfare of the people. There is a source of criticism of Russian policy in those ideals which are on the side of social justice, racial equality and even the extension of freedom. The loss of zeal for world revolution may make Russia easier to live with, unless in its place there develops unlimited nationalistic aggressiveness.

5. There seems to be a degree of moral health among the Russian people that is in striking contrast to the pathology of National Socialism. Russian youth give to many observers the impression of being builders rather than destroyers. The judgment has often been made, most recently in Lauterback's book, *These Are the Russians*, that "the Russians are more like Americans in character and temperament than any other foreigners." That is not quoted to praise the Russians, but to suggest that there are resources for mutual understanding.
J. C. B.

Karl Barth on Germany*

ON my trip I had the opportunity of talking again with my former friends and of restoring the ties which had been broken through the war. By very concrete evidence I have been reassured in my conviction that the German people never stood behind Hitler in a unified block, though this appeared to be the case from the Goebbels propaganda and the apparent absence of any local opposition. During all these years there were wide circles of people who said "No" very clearly, and although they did not take any active steps they never concealed their attitude despite the inconceivable terror with which they were threatened daily; nor did they ever capitulate. Of course, I can form a picture of these opposing groups only insofar as I myself have come in contact with these people. Therefore I do not want to speak about the officers' circles involved in the July 20th *coup d'état* since I know about them only at third-hand.

There is, first of all, the church. Catholics and Protestants alike produced the same kind of brave witnesses, conspicuous exponents of the opposition, who would not even make outward concessions. This united front, incidentally, has brought the two confessions very close to each other, not in dogma, to be sure, but as human beings. However, since the Pope explicitly rejected such blurring of the border lines as illegitimate, there is probably no hope that this brotherhood which we value highly will last. But it is also to be noted that the Protestant side shows a much less unified picture than the Catholic. The church struggle had opened up a chasm which has been bridged only now. The Swiss have for the most part formed a wrong opinion about this struggle, having made a very neat division between the black and the white sheep—the German Christians and the Confessional Church. Open conflict occurred

only in Prussia where all church property and especially the police and other state channels could be utilized. Here the Confessional Church was actually forced to form a counter-church government and in many instances became a community of the persecuted. In Bavaria and Wuerttemberg, among other places, the Confessional Church remained a part of the local church body (*Landeskirche*) and had to carry on a struggle against the gray sheep, the lukewarm and the compromisers who thought it expedient for the preservation of the church and the faith to yield in appearances to the Nazis. Such Laodicean Christians were found particularly among the bishops and the opposition of the Confessional Church was directed chiefly against them. These tensions have lasted to this very day. They were only overcome through the resolution, made at the church conference of Treysa, to appoint the 78 year old Bishop Wurm of the Church of Wuerttemberg as president of the German Church and Niemöller as his close associate and representative. Bishop Wurm had turned away more and more from National Socialism during the course of the war and, because of several courageous protests to Hitler, had scarcely escaped the concentration camp. Through these elections the Confessional Church has ceased to represent an opposition: it has gained official status. In any case we may see in these groupings what is also equally valid with respect to the German people as a whole: The war and the tyranny have not been the smelting furnace which separated the steel from the slag. Though many courageous people persevered in their opposition, the complacent and the lukewarm have also survived the time of suppression under the cover of compromises. The German timid parson (*Pfaffe*) is not dead. The differences between them were frequently expressed in mere nuances which were, however, of a decisive character. Following the same orthodox sermon the one parson would pray for victory and

* The Swiss weekly *Die Weltwoche* published the following account of an interview with Karl Barth after his return from a church conference in Germany. We have translated it because it seemed filled with important insights on the German situation.

for the Fuehrer; the other for peace and the rescue of Niemoeller,—nuances which meant everything.

I came to know the universities as a second center of opposition. I have visited Freiburg, Marburg and Bonn and in all these schools of higher learning I met a group of courageous professors of all faculties: philosophers, scientists, historians, jurists, who under the appearance of conformism have upheld the spirit of humanity, transmitting it also to their students.

Thirdly, the workers opposition must be mentioned. I spoke to two Communists in Frankfurt who throughout the oppression had kept up their illegal cell work. This will explain why the Communist Party was the only political group which was able, immediately after the collapse, to reach the public as a body, since they had been completely organized underground. The Social Democrats and liberals on the other hand are still wrestling with difficulties in forming a solid core. It is noteworthy that a definite change has taken place in the Communists' attitude toward the church. Having been together in concentration camps with German pastors, while still adhering to the old atheism, has led to a form of mutual understanding with the church. As a result the relationship between the church and the Communist Party is much better than it is for instance with the Social Democrats and the more conservative parties. Here an important change is to be noted in the evaluation of convictions. Their content does not seem to matter so much as their common intrinsic quality which proved capable of bridging differences, even among extreme opponents.

Considering these varied oppositional groups we should overcome the tendency of viewing the Germans as merely one big Nazi gang. The Swiss simply lack the imagination to realize what a terror of such dimensions was able to achieve. The constant awareness of the danger of death could not fail to have a paralyzing effect within the course of years. We are inclined to be incredulous about everybody's assertion that they had not been National Socialist and we interpret it as disgusting cowardice. Those, however, who know the conditions must admit that most of these people are telling the truth. The majority actually did not believe in National Socialism; it came over them, so to speak, as a terrible catastrophe. Their only guilt consisted in their passivity; in not having been heroes. It is therefore definitely a mistake if we intend to cure the Germans of National Socialism through an elaborate plan of re-education. Historical events have done this already; there is not one among hundreds who does not agree with you immediately that Hitler was at once the knave and the devil. If you suggest that they probably judged quite differently in the period of the great victories in 1940, you discover that that triumphant spring season was the worst time of suffering for many. Circles who were in opposition to the regime felt hope only at the time of the attack on Russia because

they saw in it the dawn of defeat.

The real discussion has not even begun as long as one speaks only about Hitler with the Germans. The real sore point is reached when the discussion goes back as far as Bismarck. When the plaster of National Socialism has fallen off it becomes evident that in most Germans, even those who have offered active resistance, the nationalistic framework appears. They consider National Socialism a deplorable interlude; but all that preceded it is tabu. They do not understand that National Socialism was nothing but the final consequence of Bismarck's politics which united Germany forcibly with "blood and iron" into a national-socialist, capitalistic and imperialistic Reich and thus become the grave-digger of the vital freedom of 1848.

Today the Germans do not have to be convinced that they are guilty. The wave which they whipped up has surged back with such devastating power that it constitutes an irrefutable *de facto* refutation of National Socialism and an undeniable *de facto* establishment of guilt. Every Swiss who glories in the German abasement and who regards no judgment severe enough, should be given an opportunity to spend some fifteen minutes in Freiburg or Frankfurt, and view Silesia or Pommerania where the German population is being starved to death systematically by the Poles.

Significantly the bombing did not arouse any feelings of hatred against the Allies. These were accepted by a guilt-stricken people with submission and contrition and regarded as a just retribution for what they themselves had begun. Today the only remaining problem is to define this actual guilt accurately in juridical terms. Is it the guilt regarding Maidanek? Does the guilt refer to Hitler? The Germans must be led to recognize their guilt in the German conception which made Maidanek and Hitler possible.

It is striking how little support National Socialism, as interpreted by Rosenberg, actually found. I am convinced that even the youth, considered by many as incurably corrupted, will not remain under its influence much longer. The National Socialist schoolmaster will not fare differently from all schoolmasters. Life and experience refutes false theory until nothing remains of it. Even if National Socialist indoctrination had seized the total life of the young, the task now is to create the right environment in order to change them naturally without explicitly forcing a new set of doctrines on them. Perhaps the Allies have not fully understood how this vast work of re-education has to be approached. They are still attempting it with radio speeches and motion pictures which are meant to teach the German people. Yet there is only one thing that will help: Setting an example. "This instruction by demonstration," I was told with some irony in Germany, "unfortunately has not yet begun."

* A concentration camp in Poland which has become the symbol of Nazi atrocities.

... So far little of a strong religious revival is to be found. Church life, having grown stronger during the Nazi regime, has again ebbed considerably. Ministers, to be sure, pursue their pastoral work with great devotion. Services, as I have seen them in cellars or, as in Bonn, in the crypt of the destroyed cathedral, are on the whole not better attended than in Switzerland. Concerning the guilt in the existential sense, I see a great danger in it for the Germans. In church circles one is rather inclined to such an interpretation. But does this not imply a certain moral complacency?

The religious German tends to evade political responsibility in religious profundity. It is revealing that at the theological conferences which I visited there was much talk about demons. "We have looked into the eyes of Satan." Such sentiments were spoken almost with enthusiasm. The sacraments offered support, consolation and emancipation from this demonized world, as did also the liturgy through its petitions and responses. I listened to all this for awhile. Finally I could not remain silent any longer. "Are you not in danger of slipping into a magical view of the world?" I asked my friends. "Why do you keep talking about demons? Why don't you say more precisely 'We have been political fools?' Please permit your Swiss colleague to urge you to resort to a more rational mode of thought."

We know that Swiss self-righteousness is our great short-coming. It is as dangerous as the sincere acknowledgment of guilt on the part of the Germans is hope-inspiring. The latter opens up the most fruitful human possibilities—as the parable of the Pharisee and the Publican illustrates. The Pharisee in his complacency remained estranged from God while the latter "smote upon his breast saying: 'God be merciful to me, a sinner.'" And the story continues: "He went down to his house justified, rather than the other."

... Niemoeller has never been the radiant martyr which the Swiss have considered him to be. He is neither a philosopher nor a theologian but a man full of contradictions and strong feelings. Side by side with his uncompromising firmness as a Christian in the struggle for the pure faith he is a "Deutsch-Nationaler" (Patriotic conservative). I am convinced however that the unfortunate interview (which has cost me a sleepless night), is to be explained on the one hand by Dorothy Thompson's misunderstandings, and on the other hand by the fact that Niemoeller gave this interview with a purpose, the meaning of which cannot be mistaken. Remember that he had been liberated on the Brenner Pass and had hoped to return to his family by the shortest possible way. Instead the Americans dragged him to Naples and Capri for "recovery," into a gilded cage, so to speak. When they also tried to elicit statements for the press from him, his temperament got the better of his impulsive, conflicting personality. In order

to make the Americans angry he really turned on the U-boat captain.

At the conference of the Confessional Synod Niemoeller stood unequivocally against nationalism and professed his belief in the idea of a Christian democracy.

An Interview With Pastor Martin Niemoeller

CHAPLAIN BEN L. ROSE

Exactly what was the accusation that the Nazis had against you?

The Nazis, and Hitler himself especially, were enraged that I dared to claim a public influence of the Church and Christianity upon the German people. I know that Hitler's wrath against my person dated from January 25, 1934, when I had the last word in a conference, held at Hitler's Chancellery, between Hitler and about 30 Church Leaders. I told him then, after a fierce debate, "We shall not cease to take care for the whole of our people, and no one, not even you yourself, is able to take that responsibility from us!"

Exactly what did you say that made them imprison you?

There were many things, and the document of indictment contained about 50 pages with citations of sermons, addresses and letters. Besides Hitler, several of his colleagues such as Rosenberg, Goebbels, Kerrl, and Ley, felt themselves attacked. I think the real and last reason was the memorandum of the end of 1936, signed by the Council of Brethren of the Confessional Church, which dealt with a number of grievances, including concentration camps, education of the youth, persecution of the Jews, etc. From then on Hitler knew that the Confessional Church would not cease from its complaints nor give in.

Then the Confessional Church did speak out against concentration camps, persecution of the Jews, etc?

Yes, it spoke against them to Hitler himself in no uncertain terms.

On exactly what points did you openly oppose the Nazis?

The best thing to do to have the full answer to that would be to read the bill of indictment. I spoke of the forgeries in the church elections, of the lies of the Goebbels propaganda, of the plan for the destruction of the Churches and of the Christian way of life, of the persecution of the Jews, of the education of party-members and leaders to enmity against the Bible and the Christian faith, and I showed by my sermons how these things must lead to the ruin of our whole nation and people. There is a volume of my sermons, published in the United States, entitled

"Gestapo Defied," which will give a rather good impression of my preaching in 1936-37.

Why did Hitler not order you to be killed?

He didn't dare! He was afraid of the people, for he knew it would arouse too much public resentment. That was at first. As the war went on, I think Hitler just forgot about me. I was the personal prisoner of Hitler and because of this no one could do any harm to me without special orders from the "Fuehrer."

Did you ever regret your stand?

No, not for one moment through all the eight years.

What passages of Scripture, or what part of your Christian faith meant the most to you while you were in prison?

The Epistle to the Philippians, the prophet Jeremiah, and the hymns of Paul Gerhart, besides many prayers of the Roman Breviary.

Wherein do you feel that your faith was changed by your eight years of prison?

My faith was not changed at all; but what became very clear to me was the fact that faith and love spring from the same well, and that a weakness of faith corresponds to a weakness of love. Another perception was the matchless power of faith which proves itself in the most disheartening situations—"If God be for us, who can be against us?"

When was your faith put to the severest test?

When a young SS-man, who was sentenced to death for homosexuality, came to me asking to confess and to be given the Lord's Supper in secrecy. It was then that I felt the dismal abyss into which humanity had fallen. It was the lowest tide of my soul; I almost had the feeling that all was lost.

I gave the young man the Lord's Supper, which was my first professional duty after nearly seven years of imprisonment.

Is it true that some of the high ranking Nazis were Christians?

It is not true. I know of no high ranking Nazi who was a Christian.

While you were in the concentration camp did you offer your services to the German Navy?

Yes, I offered my services to the German Navy.

Will you give your reasons for this offer?

It was certainly not for the reason that I wanted to fight Hitler's war for him, and most assuredly not with any idea of trying to redeem myself with the Nazis. I was thinking only of my people and my country. At that time I saw three possibilities ahead for Germany: 1, total defeat, which would be bitter for Germany; 2, total victory for the Nazis, which would be even bitterer for Germany, and 3, to fight on in the hope that the Nazis might be thrown out of government and a negotiated peace reached. It was on the latter that I pinned my hopes. If the latter occurred, and I had good hopes that it might, I did not want to be in prison but wished to be free in order that I might do my part for the future of my

country. I was also moved to this offer by the fact that my three sons were being drafted into the Army and I felt that the place of a father is by the side of his sons.

Did you say to U. S. reporters when you were freed, "Do not dare say that Niemoeller is liberated?"

No, I had no reason to say that and never did.

Are the German people responsible for the War and Nazism?

They are responsible in one way inasmuch as they allowed Hitler to come to power with his party. In general they did not wish the war (and for this reason the war was begun without any enthusiasm) but the nation was too worn out to oppose with strength. It may be added that the Confessional Church held services praying for peace to the beginning of hostilities and that ministers were put into jail for doing this. It may be said too that in December, 1944, I was asked by a high official of the Gestapo, "Why did the Church during this war never pray for victory?"

Can it then be said that the Church in Germany did not pray for Victory?

Naturally there were individual pastors who must have done so, but generally it may be said that the Confessional Church did not pray for Victory. When I heard this I was proud of the Church for I knew it had made a stand.

Should the German people be punished in any way for the war?

The German people have been punished already by God; its young people, and the old ones as well, have died at the front and at home; its cities and towns have been destroyed with all their contents; the people are starving, how much so the next winter will show; and the hopes and ideals of the whole nation have been shattered.

What then of Goering and the other war criminals?

By all means Goering and the other war criminals must be punished. If you do not do it, the German people will.

Should the world just say to Germany, "We forgive you," and then start again? Are not punitive and corrective measures necessary?

"The world" will not be able to say, "We forgive you," but the Christians in the world should say so, and they should just start new with us. Punitive measures against the nation will not help. The Christian people of Germany and many who begin once more to believe in God know that no man can punish them more than God has done. The others would only be made to say, "Hitler was not the worst, after all." So they would turn to radicalism and underground propaganda of all kinds. But corrective measures are necessary and wholesome, beginning with a new way of youth education and a slow re-education to public responsibility. I think the way in this direction will be open.

What is the remedy for Germany's "Militarism?" Can she be cured of it? How?

I think that Germany is cured of it for many years to come. The rest must be done by Christian education in family and school, and by Christian preaching from the pulpit and over the radio, etc.

Is the Church sufficiently strong in leadership and influence to become a real factor in the reconstruction of Germany?

That question is not to be answered yet. I hope that the influence of the Church will increase rapidly, and it will if she will be determined to go the right way, that is, if the leadership of the Church follow the way of the Confessional Church in telling the people the truth concerning its guilt as well as its hope. A beginning has been made in the Church Conference at Treysa last week, where all Churches of Germany have pledged themselves to follow the rules of the declaration of Barmen (the Magna Carta of the Confessional Church of 1934).

In what way can the American Churches help you?

There will be no help in inner Church affairs, as the Church in Germany must find and go its way alone. But the Churches in America could help by supporting those works of the German Churches which are meant to help the people and the congregations with food for next winter, if it is not yet too late to do so. Most needed is food and medicine.

Do you think the influence of the Church in post-war Germany will differ at all from the influence of the Church in pre-war Germany?

Yes, the Church has learned by now that she holds a responsibility for public life, a responsibility which she has not seen before. It was due to this blindness (beside other reasons) that the Church did not speak as loudly and as clearly as she should have done. For the Church saw very well to what end Hitler was leading the German nation, but she remained silent because she thought that it was not her job or her duty to meddle with politics, which certainly was an error and a disastrous one. I believe this will never happen again.

What are your personal plans for the future?

As a clergyman my first thought after coming home has been to see that I should get a new Church job. At Treysa I was elected second Chairman of the Evangelical Church of Germany, which comprises all Protestant Churches with very few exceptions. But I have not yet found a real and lasting office in a congregation, so I do not know.

Are you and Dr. Karl Barth in complete agreement?

Two theologians are seldom, if ever, in "complete agreement," but basically and generally I am in agreement with Dr. Barth. He is a very good personal friend of mine.

Heidelberg University Starts Theology Courses

Courses in theology were the first to be offered students when the University of Heidelberg reopened its doors.

Political screening revealed that members of the theological faculty resisted Nazi "coordination" far better than others. Some of its scholars even succeeded in publishing books which included strong anti-Nazi passages.

This correspondent attended the opening lecture, at which Prof. Martin Dibelius, dean of the theological faculty, and cousin of Dr. Otto Dibelius, Bishop of Berlin, presided. The session began with a moment of silent prayer in memory of theological students who died in the war.

Professor Dibelius told the students that pastors must be well grounded in Bible and Church history "or pseudo scientists will usurp the field with ulterior motives."

Young men attending the lecture seemed of an especially high calibre. I met one student from Hungary, and two from Latvia. It is expected that the enrollment will reach 200 in the near future.

Two-thirds of the full professors in the university's medical school have been eliminated as pro-Nazis. Its sessions were resumed on Nov. 22, with an enrollment of 1,000 students. (RNS)

Urges Creation of American Interfaith Congress to Press Relief Needs

An interfaith congress of religious leaders in America, to call President Truman's attention to the enormous relief needs of central Europe, has been urged by Dr. J. W. Behnken, president of the Lutheran Synod of Missouri, Ohio and other States.

If Americans realized that 12 to 16 million homeless persons were roaming Germany, Dr. Behnken asserted, they would "rise up and do something so that they will not have to starve and freeze to death this winter."

He further expressed the belief that 60 million American church members could achieve results by unitedly demanding to do charitable work and refusing to be blocked from their purpose.

Dr. Behnken accompanied by Dr. Lawrence Meyer, also of the Missouri Synod, met with the Department of Reconstruction and Inter-Church Aid of the World Council of Churches to discuss immediate steps for relief activities in central Europe.

Welcoming the cooperation of a non-member communion, World Council officials suggested that its efforts be coordinated with the coming visit of Bishop G. Bromley Oxnam and Bishop Henry Knox Sherrill as representatives of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America, who are expected late this month. (RNS)

Bundle Orders for "Christianity and Crisis"

We should like to renew our "bundle order offer" for subscriptions to *Christianity and Crisis*. Ten or more subscriptions sent to a single address can be had for 85c per year per subscription. Many ministers have availed themselves of this plan and we should like to extend it.

The World Church News and Notes

World Council Names Princeton Professor To Head Relief Program in Czechoslovakia

Seminary Prof. Joseph L. Hromadka, who is on leave from Princeton Seminary in the United States, has been named by the World Council of Churches in Geneva to take charge of the Council's material relief program in Czechoslovakia.

Dr. W. A. Visser 't Hooft, general secretary of the Council, said that consideration was being given to the possibility of sending goods to Czechoslovakia by Swiss airplanes, because of the acute need which exists in that country,

In a telegram to Dr. Sylvester C. Michelfelder, commissioner of the American Section of the Lutheran World Convention, who is heading the Council's new Division of Material Aid, Professor Hromadka said he was compiling a list of needy persons and groups. He urged immediate delivery of heifers, mules, bicycles, wheat, and other goods. (RNS)

Hungarian Hierarchy Replies to Leftist Denunciation of Pastoral

The Hungarian Roman Catholic episcopate has issued a statement replying to leftist denunciations of a recent pastoral letter by Msgr. Joseph Mindszenty, Primate of Hungary, criticizing alleged excesses by the present Hungarian regime, the Catholic Herald reported in London.

Insisting that the pastoral was not intended to influence current politics and was not an attack on democracy, the Hungarian bishops asserted that the Primate did not criticize land reform measures undertaken by the government, but merely deplored mistakes and excesses in carrying out plans.

According to the Herald report, publication of the Primate's letter was followed by a meeting of National Independence Front parties in Budapest which passed a resolution stating that the letter "served neither the country's interests nor those of the Catholic Church" and accusing the Primate of supporting reactionary forces. (RNS)

World Council Gets Report of Islamic "Holy War" in Java

Indonesian Nationalists are waging an Islamic "holy war" against native Christians in Java and already there are hundreds of casualties, the World Council of Churches was informed by reports from Javanese missionary circles.

Terming the reports "extremely disquieting," Dr. W. A. Visser 't Hooft, general secretary of the World Council, asserted that "the life of the Javanese Christian Church is at stake." He said the 60,000 native Christians in Java comprise the world's largest group of Christian converts from Mohammedanism.

Church leaders here have expressed hope that the British Army will give special protection to the Christian minority in operations against Indonesian Nationalist forces. (RNS)

Niemoller Brothers Urge Forward Outlook in German Church

Joining in Reformation Day services at Jakobus Church in Bielefeld, the two Niemoller brothers—Pastor Martin Niemoller and Wilhelm Niemoller—mounted the same pulpit to warn that "traditionalism in doctrine and organization" must disappear if a strong Evangelical Church is to arise in Germany.

The brothers stressed that there must be a forward outlook in the German Church and that it must be prepared to reflect the "daring spirit" of Martin Luther in coping with new problems and opportunities.

Wilhelm Niemoller—who is 49, four years younger than his famous brother—declared that the need of renovation in the Church is "as great today" as when Luther published his 95 theses.

"The danger of German Lutheranism," he said, "is of remaining stuck in the Reformation of Luther rather than continuing his daring spirit into the modern era, with its new problems and opportunities.

"An outmoded ecclesiastical organization and doctrinal formalism clogged the channels of the spirit throughout the centuries, but the new task of the Confessional Church is to serve the present age." (RNS)

Anglican Church to Launch \$4,000,000 Evangelism Program

The Assembly of the Church of England has voted to launch a five year \$4,000,000 advertising program which will utilize the theater, cinema, radio, press and other media to bring about a religious revival in Britain.

Responding to a warning from Dr. C. M. Chavasse, Bishop of Rochester, that the clergy's "spiritual anemia" has left half of the country "worse than heathens," the Council adopted a 172-page report calling for a "missionary invasion of the modern agencies of propaganda" to spread the Christian Gospel.

"Our task today," declared Dr. Chavasse, head of the commission which drafted the report, "is far more formidable than that which confronted the early church in missionary lands. "It is impossible to exaggerate the gulf between the church and the ordinary life and thinking of the English people." (RNS)

American Church Relief Official Asks Aid for Germany

M. R. Zigler, American Church relief official who has returned to Paris from an inspection trip to Germany, declared that conditions are so bad in that country that American Churches must do what they can to help.

Executive secretary of the Brethren Service Committee, Zigler is traveling in Europe for the Commission on World Council Service and the Church Committee on Overseas Relief and Reconstruction. In Berlin he talked with Lt. Gen. Lucius Clay, in charge of the area for the Americans, and with other high officers.

As an example of the need, Zigler recalled he had seen 2,500 people come into an air raid shelter to spend a

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night. There were no babies among them, he added—tragic sign of the way starvation first eliminates the very young. These people were given soup and bread, he said, adding that the diet of the German population is 1,300 calories a day, or well below the minimum needs for active persons.

Zigler said he saw one woman in Berlin who had lost 80 pounds since April. Many others have lost 25 to 40 pounds.

"We asked a famous German pastor where the people are living in the ruins" Zigler recounted.

"Well," he replied, "we really don't know. But you can see downstairs there," and he pointed to the place where the next-door house had stood. We saw an archway which had remained standing, below the level of the street. A family of seven had erected a stove with a pipe under this archway, and there they were sitting around a table which had been salvaged, eating their daily rations. "This is only one of the thousands of similar pictures which can be seen with your own eyes when passing through Germany." (RNS)

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Missouri Synod Gives \$100,000 to World Council for Relief

The Lutheran Synod of Missouri, Ohio and other States has presented \$100,000 to the World Council of Churches of Geneva for material aid to destitute deportees in central Europe, it was announced by Dr. Sylvester C. Michelfelder, who is directing this branch of the Council's activities.

The contribution was made by Dr. J. W. Behnken, president of the Missouri Synod, and Dr. Lawrence Meyer, its director of publicity, who are now in Geneva to confer on relief and reconstruction problems of churches on the Continent. (RNS)

Inaugurate Coventry Cathedral Reconstruction Plans

Reconstruction plans for historic Coventry Cathedral, which include a Christian service center and a chapel for joint Anglican and Free Church use, were inaugurated at solemn services commemorating the fifth anniversary of the cathedral's destruction by German air raiders.

Heading a procession that moved from one part to another of the floodlit ruins, the Bishop of Coventry, the Rt. Rev. Neville Vincent Gorton, read a message from the Archbishop of Canterbury expressing appreciation of the "spiritual vision" behind the rebuilding plans.

Greeting Free Church representatives, Dr. Gorton blessed the crypt which will serve as the Christian center service. The Rev. Leslie Cooke, president of the Coventry Free Church Council, then read a statement describing the purposes of the center. (RNS)

Seeks Reconciliation Between French and German Churches

In a step of reconciliation between the French and German churches, Dr. Marc Boegner, president of the Protestant Federation of France, has invited Bishop Theophilus Wurm, head of the Evangelical Church of Germany to participate in the meetings of the provisional committee of the World Council of Churches in February.

Dr. Boegner revealed that he himself hopes to go to Germany this winter to visit Bishop Wurm and the new Protestant headquarters at Stuttgart.

The French Protestant leader said he believes the churches of the world, including those of France, must help the German church to find true strength and aid in the rebuilding of a peaceful Germany.

At the same time, he pointed out that French church relations with the German church are very "delicate" because of strong feeling in the French congregations. (RNS)

Author in This Issue

Chaplain Ben L. Rose, whose interview with Pastor Niemoeller we publish herewith, is a chaplain in the American Army of Occupation in Germany.